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Reputation, Patronage and Opportunism: Andrea Sansovino Arrives in Rome

In the first decade of the sixteenth century, artists and architects travelled to work in Rome to help fulfil the ambitions of Julius II (reg. 1503–13), who envisioned the city as the triumphant embodiment of papal power.¹ Michelangelo in 1499 and Raphael in 1508, for example, moved to the papal city relatively early in their careers, lured by the promise of wealthy patrons.² Others, including Donato Bramante who arrived in Rome from Milan for the 1500 jubilee, had established their workshops and could rely on extensive cultural and political networks.³ Andrea Sansovino (1467–1529) was documented in Rome from 1505, responding to Julius II's commission for the tomb monument of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in Santa Maria del Popolo (fig. 1). In 1492, shortly after completing the Corbinelli altar for Santo Spirito in Florence (fig. 2), he had established his reputation working for the royal court in Portugal. He eventually returned to Florence nine years later, around 1502, to work on prestigious public projects, including the *Baptism of Christ* group for the Baptistery (fig. 3). Giorgio Vasari records that Sansovino was then 'summoned to Rome' by Julius II, leaving the Baptistery group unfinished, and giving the impression, sustained in subsequent literature, that the sculptor's departure from Florence and arrival in Rome was unexpected.⁴ More recent scholarship has uncovered a number of projects in Rome that may well date to the first few years after Andrea Sansovino's return to the Italian peninsula. Here I will add another one, and propose a less dramatic entrance to the Roman scene that nevertheless elucidates the reality of life as a jobbing artist, experienced or not.

The most significant artistic project in Rome from the middle of the fifteenth century was the reconfiguration of St Peter's basilica. Work had initially focussed on improving the basilica's ability to enshrine the Apostolic Succession, witnessed to by the tombs and monuments of popes and cardinals.⁵ Julius II took the project to a new level when, after 1505, work began to replace the choir and transepts of the venerable basilica which had stood on the slopes of the Vatican hill in Rome since the fourth century C.E..⁶ Bramante earned himself the nickname 'il ruinante' as a result of his enthusiastic beginning to a project that, in the end, lasted more than a century. Giacomo Grimaldi (1568–1623), a canon of St Peter's and the basilica's archivist, was responsible for cataloguing the altars, monuments and relics still extant in the old nave a century later, when, in 1605, Paul V (reg. 1605–21) decided to finish the job.⁷ The tomb monument of Cardinal Ardicino della Porta Junior, who had died in 1493, was still in situ in an adjoining chapel, and, according to Grimaldi, it was the work of Andrea Sansovino (fig. 4).⁸

The effigy and inscription from the monument to Cardinal Ardicino della Porta Junior (died 1493) are today stored in the Grotte Vaticane (figs. 5 and 6), while other parts of it were moved in the early seventeenth century to Boville Ernica, a small provincial town to the south east of Rome (figs. 7 and 8). Grimaldi's account is particularly important because it helps explain how and why Sansovino came to be working on the tomb of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in Bramante's new choir for Santa Maria del Popolo by the autumn of 1505, a project which firmly established him as a papal artist and led on to the Loreto project that occupied much of his career after 1513.⁹

As far as I am aware, Giacomo Grimaldi is the only writer to attribute the monument of Ardicino della Porta to any artist.¹⁰ It is unusual for Grimaldi to mention artists in his inventory of St Peter's as he was more interested in the basilica's holy relics and benefactors. Rare examples are paintings by Giotto, the tomb monument for Paul II (died 1471) ascribed to Giovanni Dalmata and Mino da Fiesole, and Michelangelo's *Pietà* (1501).¹¹ When Grimaldi does refer to specific artists he is remarkably reliable: he was, after all, not just an interested enthusiast but archivist to St Peter's, responsible for the legal documentation of the many legacies and gifts donated to Western Christendom's most significant shrine, and the obligations of remembrance that came with them.

Cardinal Ascanio Sforza's tomb monument

The attribution of tomb monuments in Rome is notoriously difficult because they were usually formulaic workshop productions and routinely shifted to new locations, albeit within the same churches. That these memorials survive at all is because of their legal status as external indicators of a binding contract between the deceased, or his executors, and an ecclesiastical institution, a relationship cemented by bequests of property and money in return for regular commemoration. In Rome's churches, the tomb monuments of popes and cardinals combined to witness to the continuity of the Apostolic Succession. Popes often stepped in where obligations had not been met. The context in which Sansovino came to work on the monument of Ascanio Sforza in Santa Maria del Popolo is a case in point (fig. 1).¹²

Pope Julius II took over the commission because Sforza, who died suddenly on 28th May 1505, had left neither instructions for his commemoration nor any will. That does not mean, however, that he was not prepared for his death. In the late 1490s the downfall in Milan of

Ascanio Sforza's brother, Ludovico Sforza (il Moro), resulted in his flight from Rome and imprisonment in France. Just before, the cardinal had begun portioning out his properties, endowing the important papal Marian shrines of the Holy House in Loreto and Santa Maria del Popolo at the Flaminian Gate in Rome. Both were also foci for della Rovere patronage, and especially Popes Sixtus IV and Julius II. Cardinal Sforza donated his Palazzo di San Rocco to Santa Maria del Popolo in March 1503, most likely to support the costs of his new chapel and monument: by 1504 the choir chapel was known as the *Capella Ascanii*.¹³ Nicole Riegel surmises that it was Cardinal Sforza himself who commissioned Bramante and Andrea Sansovino to work together on the project as early as 1503: Bramante had already in 1488 redesigned Pavia's cathedral for Ascanio Sforza and redeveloped the choir of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan in the 1490s as a mausoleum for the cardinal's brother, Ludovico il Moro, and his sister-in-law. Although Christof Frommel rejects Riegel's argument due to lack of documentary evidence, his own case, promoting the role of architect over sculptor, hinges on just a few sources, none of which disprove Riegel.¹⁴ In a broader context that includes the monument in St Peter's for Cardinal Ardicino della Porta, who was also a member of the Sforza/Milanese party, the suggestion of Sansovino's direct connection with the papal court before 1505 and in the circle of Bramante seems likely.

When Cardinal Sforza died on 28 May 1505 he was immediately buried behind the high altar in Santa Maria del Popolo in a grave marked with a modest inscription on a floor slab.¹⁵ Shortly afterwards, Julius II mentioned plans for the formal funeral ceremonies in a letter to Gundisalvo di Fernando, Duke of Terranova. These eventually took place on 13 November. Andrea Sansovino completed Sforza's sepulchral monument by 1509, by which time the choir-chapel also housed the memorial to Julius II's cousin, Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere, on the facing wall. Julius II used Cardinal della Rovere's vast estate to underwrite the project, therefore appropriating the space as a *Coemeterium Iulium*.¹⁶

Together, Santa Maria del Popolo and St Peter's were key elements among the cultural and political legacies left by the della Rovere popes so it is not surprising that Andrea Sansovino should be found working at both sites. Sixtus IV, the first of the della Rovere popes and Julius II's uncle, had adopted Santa Maria del Popolo as a major part of his *renovatio urbis*.¹⁷ Located at the northern city gate connecting the Via Flaminia with the Via Lata, the major thoroughfare into Rome's centre, and eventually to the Vatican and St Peter's, Sixtus IV revitalised the site both spiritually and artistically. Plenary indulgences added in 1472 increased pilgrim traffic to the church, which was rebuilt in the 1470s. Sixtus encouraged his

familia to consider Santa Maria del Popolo as a kind of family mausoleum. This was a bold move: for almost fifty years, cardinal nephews and close associates had been buried alongside their popes in St Peter's basilica itself.¹⁸ But while the della Rovere popes' families and allies went to Santa Maria del Popolo for burial, Sixtus IV and Julius II invested huge effort in their own commemoration at St Peter's.

Cardinal Ardicino dell Porta

Cardinal Ardicino della Porta's wall monument in St Peter's was one of the last for a cardinal added to the basilica before its remodelling and eventual replacement.¹⁹ The monument originally stood in the oratory of St Thomas the Apostle, a chapel just off the southern flank of St Peter's and next to Sixtus IV's choir chapel.²⁰ The chapel was already home to other fifteenth century monuments: to the left hand side of Ardicino della Porta's monument was that of his uncle, Cardinal Ardicino della Porta Senior (died 1434), and, opposite it, that of Cardinal Pedro Fonseca (died 1422), both substantial Gothic canopy tombs. Nicholas V was responsible for setting up the basilica's baptismal font in the apse of the oratory to which he also contributed the floor tomb of Pope Innocent VII (died 1406).²¹ Just outside the entrance into the oratory was a group of almost contemporary monuments including one belonging to Ardicino della Porta's executor, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (died as Pius III, 1503).²²

Cardinal Ardicino della Porta Junior (1434–1493) was from Novara near Milan, his mother a Visconti, the once powerful rulers of Milan.²³ His great-uncle, Cardinal Ardicino della Porta Senior, had died in Rome in August 1434.²⁴ Ardicino Junior made himself useful as a doctor of both pontifical and civil law, and, after a brief spell as the vicar of the Archbishop of Florence, arrived in Rome in 1468, where he joined the household of Sixtus IV, living in Borgo Sant'Angelo adjacent to the Vatican palace. He was promoted cardinal priest of Santi Giovanni e Paolo by Innocent VIII in 1489, a position he held for just four years before his death in 1493.²⁵ A close ally of the pope, della Porta was entrusted with the delicate job of dealing with the many ambassadors to the papal court—a kind of secretary of state a century before the role was formally instituted.²⁶ Ardicino Junior seems to have been a reluctant cardinal, however, possibly on account of his ill health. He tried to retire to a Camaldolese monastery, leaving Rome on 1 June 1491, but returned just two weeks later because the other cardinals objected to his withdrawal.²⁷ At the conclave that elected Alexander VI in August

1492 Ardicino della Porta was considered *papabile* for two main reasons: he had the support of Milan as a member of the Sforza party, and, an old man in poor health, he offered the possibility of a brief pontificate.²⁸ Shortly after the papal election, on 3 September, he fell ill, dying eventually on 4 February 1493.²⁹ His executors were Cardinals Oliviero Carafa (died 1511) and Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, two of the longest serving members of the College, and, like Ardicino della Porta, experienced ecclesiastics.

The three cardinals seem to have been *intimi* and part of the same faction in the Sacred College: when Piccolomini had arrived back in Rome unexpectedly in November 1489, having successfully established peace amongst the warring factions in Perugia, Ardicino della Porta and Carafa were the first to visit him. In August 1492, the three worked closely together at the conclave that elected Alexander VI pope. In the first round of voting, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini received six votes, including those of della Porta, Carafa and Ascanio Sforza—for whom Andrea Sansovino would later make the tomb monument in Santa Maria del Popolo.³⁰ Carafa and Piccolomini were still working closely together as senior members of the College of Cardinals when, in 1497, they were, along with Jorge Costa, given the task of drawing up a reform agenda.³¹

Johann Burchard, the papal master of ceremonies, gives a full account of the obsequies for Ardicino della Porta Junior which culminated in St Peter's. His executors, Cardinals Carafa and Piccolomini, summoned to his bedside as he was dying, arranged for the corpse to be dressed appropriately in tunic, dalmatic and purple taffeta chasuble. As was customary, the bier was set up first of all in the cardinal's home in the Borgo, and then carried in procession to St Peter's, the day after his death, on 5 February.³² That same evening the body was buried in the oratory of St Thomas the Apostle. Carafa and Piccolomini stayed behind after the burial, maintaining a vigil at the graveside. The requiem—a single mass—was held a month later on 4 March in St Peter's. The ceremonies were centred on the cardinal's *castrum doloris* ('mound of grief'), an ephemeral structure 6.5m long, 4.5m wide and of considerable height, lit by hundreds of candles, which took up a large portion of the lower left-hand corner of the basilica.³³ Attended by seventy-two mourners, Burchard notes that, in all other respects, the ceremonies followed the usual conventions with the exception that there was only a single mass, and not the long series of services which usually lasted nine days (the *novena*). This was because the cardinal had requested that the funeral be celebrated as though he were a poor person, either because of his monastic vocation or because such humility was expected of those planning a good death.

Ardicino della Porta did not commission his own tomb monument: indeed, it was rare for cardinals and popes to do so.³⁴ The tomb inscription records that it was provided by the cardinal's *domestici*, *clientes*, and *haeredes*—his household, clients, and heirs. A related case is the tomb monument of Bishop Pietro Manzi da Vicenza in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, also attributed to Andrea Sansovino (fig. 9). According to the inscription on that monument, it was erected by Manzi's sister in 1504, but Frommel suggests that it is more likely to have been completed after that of Ascanio Sforza.³⁵ The inscriptions on both tombs suggest they were made immediately after the deaths of those commemorated. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the dates recorded were when the projects were underway. Since it could take a considerable time before a memorial was in place, Ardicino della Porta's monument could date from any time after his death in 1493 and the destruction of the remaining part of St Peter's in 1606.³⁶ However, comparison with Andrea Sansovino's extant works and the context of other works in Rome attributed to him suggest a date in the first few years of the sixteenth century.

Andrea Sansovino's career

According to Giorgio Vasari, Sansovino was trained in the Pollaiuolo workshop in Florence, which was responsible in the 1480s and 90s for the bronze papal monuments of Sixtus IV and of Innocent VIII, also in St Peter's. Sansovino's earliest independent commissions were for his hometown of Monte San Savino. Late in 1492, his arrival on the Florentine stage was marked by his completion of the Corbinelli Altar for Santo Spirito in Florence (fig.2).³⁷ Soon afterwards, on the recommendation of Lorenzo de' Medici, Sansovino made his prolonged move to Portugal.³⁸ Until recently, art historians have been divided over the likelihood of the Iberian sojourn although it can be explained by established cultural and economic links between Florence and Portugal.³⁹ Andrew Butterfield's recent identification of a polychromed and gilded wooden statue of the Virgin and Child may represent the only sculpture by Sansovino to survive from his time in Portugal; others were probably destroyed in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755.⁴⁰

Sansovino returned to Florence from Portugal in 1502 a wealthy man, his reputation as both an artist and engineer established. In 1502 he was working on the Baptismal Font in Volterra and won the prestigious commission for the figures of John the Baptist and Christ for the Florence Baptistery (fig. 3), and in 1503 on the Virgin and Child for Genoa Cathedral.⁴¹ He

could conceivably have been working for patrons in Rome in the same period, for example on the tomb of Bishop Manzi for Santa Maria in Aracoeli, not least because Andrea Bregno, who had dominated the memorial sculpture market in the papal city for four decades, had died in September 1503 leaving a professional vacuum.⁴² Although the details are sketchy, Sansovino had already designed tombs for the royal house of Portugal, including that for Prince Alfonso (died 1492) for the Avis family pantheon at the monastery of Batalha, and for important ecclesiastics, such as the memorial to Cardinal Pedro de Mendoza (died 1495) in Toledo Cathedral.⁴³ This context helps explain how Sansovino came to be working on the tomb monument of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in Santa Maria del Popolo by late 1505, whereafter he was closely associated with the papal court.⁴⁴

While the precise nature of Andrea Sansovino's activities between his return from Portugal in 1502 and his documented move to Rome in 1505 still remains uncertain, the documents that survive, published together in 1999, portray the artist as a good citizen and efficient businessman, who combined farming and property owning with his management of an active workshop.⁴⁵ According to Vasari, Sansovino was at home in Monte San Savino four months of every year throughout his career, running his farm and taking a holiday from his artistic exertions.⁴⁶ He enjoyed a secondary career as an agent and ambassador for Monte San Savino, and, as his network extended, and after his Iberian sojourn, for Florence.

Artists required as much business and political sense as artistic and technical skill to survive and Sansovino seems to have been well endowed in all those respects.⁴⁷ They were also known to collect political offices to develop their networks and support their craft activities. In Rome, the burgeoning papal court potentially offered limitless sinecures and pensions to smooth the vagaries of contract work. Although details are better established for the next decade under Leo X when Fra' Giocondo, Raphael, Baldassare Peruzzi, Giuliano da Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo are documented with salaries and pensions for their work at St Peter's, Julius II made Bramante architect of St Peter's and from at least 1506 Sansovino seems to have been engaged as *controllore* (inspector of buildings) there too.⁴⁸ Julius II also had Bramante work on Loreto and its shrine of the Holy House of the Virgin in the Marche from 1507 which the pope had brought under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See; Andrea Sansovino became Bramante's agent at Loreto, and director of the works in June 1513, a succession which makes sense assuming the two were already professionally linked through St Peter's and other works for Julius II.

Along with Andrea Sansovino's official duties as inspector of works at St Peter's, it is natural that he would be asked to extend his work to Santa Maria del Popolo. The Marian shrine continued to serve as an annex for St Peter's well into the seventeenth century for members of the papal court for whom burial at the Vatican was unassailable. The funeral for the papal master of ceremonies, Johann Burchard, took place in Santa Maria del Popolo in May 1506.⁴⁹ The basilica's archivist, Giacomo Grimaldi was buried in Santa Maria del Popolo on 7 January 1623.⁵⁰

Andrea Sansovino's tomb for Ardicino della Porta in St Peter's

What then of the tomb monument of Ardicino della Porta? Where does it fit in this story? How did its composite parts come to be separated? Grimaldi records that his contemporary, Giovanni Battista Simoncelli, apostolic protonotary and secretary (*intimus cubicularius*) of Pope Paul V, acquired fragments from St Peter's out of devotion to the Constantinian basilica which had attained the status of a holy relic.⁵¹ The bas relief of the Virgin and Child, along with the two angels from the monument's lunette are now part of what was once the Simoncelli chapel in the church of San Pietro Ispano in Boville Ernica, in the hills above Frosinone to the south east of Rome (figs. 7 and 8).⁵² An inscription in San Pietro Ispano records that this took place in 1612.⁵³ The figure of St Joseph now included in the relief to the left hand side of the Virgin was most likely added to the relief when it was transported to its present home as it is worked by a different hand in a more assured style, suggestive of the seventeenth century.⁵⁴

The more substantial parts of the monument, the effigy and sarcophagus, survive today in the Grotte Vaticane (figs. 5 and 6). The drawing sketched for Grimaldi's record along with a roughly contemporary drawing of the monument in a manuscript now in the Royal Collection at Windsor, *Tombs of Illustrious Romans*, give a rich sense of the its original appearance (figs. 4, 10).⁵⁵ It was a relatively conventional monument, close to those of cardinals Cristoforo della Rovere (died 1478) and Jorge da Costa (1508) in Santa Maria del Popolo, lacking the pedimented framework of other more grandiose Roman tombs, such as Sansovino's monument for Ascanio Sforza (fig. 1). The elegant, arched framework of the della Porta tomb may also relate to Sansovino's Florentine artistic pedigree, as it was close in form to tombs by Bernardo Rossellino (e.g. Leonardo Bruni, c. 1450, in Santa Croce, Florence) and Mino da Fiesole (e.g. Count Ugo of Tuscany, 1481, in the Badia, Florence).

Important stylistic parallels between the della Porta and Sforza tombs point to the production of the monument in the first years of the sixteenth century. Sansovino used variations of the three-quarter Virgin and Child in the lunette in a number of different commissions.

Especially noteworthy is his experimentation with position of the Christ-Child's arms in relation to his mother, and particularly the sharply bent elbows that support hands that variously pat (Sforza, fig. 11), grip (Genoa) and grab (Boville Ernica, fig. 8) at the Virgin's mantle. This jagged, eye-catching motif may have come from Michelangelo, who was experimenting in the same period with similarly jutting limbs of the Christ Child in the Bruges Madonna (1501-4), Taddei and Doni tondos (both 1504-6).⁵⁶ The large fold evident above the Virgin's right elbow that Butterfield identifies as characteristic of Sansovino's work around this time, and the more finely striated draperies, found for example in the Genoa Virgin and Child (shipped from Florence to Genoa in 1504), are evident in the Boville Ernica panel (fig. 8).⁵⁷

A Virgin and Child in the portal of San Giacomo degli Incurabili (now Santa Maria Porta Paradisi) in Rome also seems linked stylistically to the della Porta relief (fig. 12). The little figure group has been variously dated from 1505 to 1523. The later date relates to the redevelopment of San Giacomo when the Via Ripetta, the street on which the church now stands, was cut through from Piazza del Popolo to the Mausoleum of Augustus, though this seems irrelevant as the sculpture has clearly been moved.⁵⁸ Stylistically, and particularly from the position of the limbs, it would seem more likely that the small group comes from what we might label Sansovino's early 'jutting elbow' period. Moreover, San Giacomo was the chapel of the hospital of the same name which controlled property on the Via di Ripetta, an area that often attracted artists looking for accommodation.⁵⁹ Was Andrea Sansovino one of them?

The jutting elbow motif in the lunette relief of the Virgin and Child from the monument of Ascanio Sforza, where the weight of the child's body is shown supported and encircled by his mother, is more graceful than that included in the monument to Ardicino della Porta (figs. 8 and 11). Both reliefs can be contrasted with the dynamic fluidity of the zig-zag twist of the child in the later Sant'Agostino group of the Virgin and Child with St Anne (1510-12) (fig. 13), however. Nevertheless, despite its relative awkwardness, in the della Porta relief Sansovino manages to communicate a dramatic energy as the Christ-Child seems to slip out of his mother's grasp and roll into the bier and sarcophagus of the cardinal originally represented beneath.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the forwards and downwards motion neatly links the

Incarnation with the promise of resurrection and salvation which is a main-stay of tomb monuments. Located immediately to the right-hand side of the baptismal font in the oratory of St Thomas, which served as the baptistery in St Peter's in the fifteenth century, the child slipping from its mother's arms embodies the deeper meaning of the sacrament. Immersion followed by emergence from the waters of baptism symbolised a new life in Christ, just as death and burial was the necessary precursor to heavenly resurrection. This proximity of tomb and font was well established in Rome and elsewhere, Ambrose of Milan describing the font 'as a kind of grave'.⁶¹

Ardicino della Porta's effigy represents the cardinal dressed in a flowing chasuble, presumably that in which Burchard records that he was buried because he was a cardinal-priest, with his gloved hands folded together. The head of the effigy (fig. 6) is particularly finely worked, and close in style to that on the Manzi memorial attributed to Sansovino in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (fig. 9). The sensitively rendered features are unlike Andrea Bregno's plump, almost lumpy, rounded heads, such as that of Cardinal Alain Coëtivy (died 1474) in Santa Prassede. Instead Sansovino combined linear surface decoration with plastic modelling, for example in the furrowed brow and deeply worked eyelids, animated by eyebrows and by creases at the corners of the eyes delicately etched onto the surface of the stone with a fine chisel. Both effigies also show a shared interest in the surface design of the rich brocades represented on the pillows and vestments.

There is no reason to doubt Grimaldi's attribution of Cardinal Ardicino della Porta's monument to Andrea Sansovino, and stylistic evidence from the parts surviving in the Vatican Grottoes and in Boville Ernica support his assertions. Although the tomb in St Peter's cannot compare with the confidence and innovation of the Santa Maria del Popolo monuments, its more modest design reflects the context of the oratory of St Thomas, which already contained a collection of fifteenth century monuments. A date early in the first decade of the sixteenth century seems most likely for the monument in St Peter's, based on comparison with contemporary artworks and the context of the purported commission. With this knowledge, Ardicino della Porta's relatively modest but elegant tomb monument may be part of the story that helps explain why Andrea Sansovino was known to Julius II in 1505 and quickly established himself in Rome. Without more documentary evidence, we have only the extant works with which to reconstruct the first part of Andrea Sansovino's career at the papal court. What does seem clear is that the invitation Sansovino received to work in Santa Maria del Popolo did not appear out of the blue.

¹ For example, M. Gill, *Augustine in the Renaissance*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 173: ‘Julius II possessed sure instincts as a patron of the arts and he had the foresight and the tenacity... to enlist persons of incalculable talent’.

² W. E. Wallace, *Michelangelo: The Artist, The Man, and His Times*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 19; H. Chapman, T. Henry and C. Plazzotta, *Raphael: From Urbino to Rome* (exh. cat.), National Gallery, London, 2004, p. 51.

³ A. Bruschi, *Bramante*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1977, p. 73.

⁴ G. Vasari, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, G. Milanesi (ed.), Florence, G. C. Sansoni, 1906, vol. 4, p. 515.

⁵ C. M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 2009, pp. 318, 386.

⁶ C. Thoenes, ‘Renaissance St Peter’s’, in W. Tronzo (ed.), *St Peter’s in the Vatican*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 72–82.

⁷ R. Niggel, ‘Giacomo Grimaldi (1568-1623), Leben und Werk des römischen Archäologen und Historikers’, unpub. PhD thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1971, pp. 34–6.

⁸ G. Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano. Codice Barberini Latino 2733 [c.1620]*, R. Niggel (ed.), Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972, p. 336: ‘Hoc sepulcrum Ardicini iunioris de la Porta cardinalis elegantissimum erat Andreae Sansovini manu egregii sculptoris caelatum’.

⁹ K. Weil-Garris, ‘The Santa Casa di Loreto. Problems in cinquecento sculpture’, unpub. PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1965; published New York and London, Garland, 1977, pp. 7–14.

¹⁰ Of more recent scholars, M. Kühlenthal, ‘Andrea Bregno im Rom’, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 32, 1997–8, pp. 265–7, attributes the tomb of Ardicino della Porta junior to the workshop of Bregno, though this assumes that the monument was completed in the 1490s.

¹¹ Grimaldi, as at note 8, pp. 162, 260, 307, 225.

¹² C. L. Frommel, ‘La nuova cappella maggiore’, in I. Miarelli Mariani and M. Richiello (eds.), *Santa Maria del Popolo. Storia e restauri*, Rome, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2009, pp. 383–410; G. Fattorini, *Andrea Sansovino* (Loreto e la grande scultura italiana del Cinquecento vol. 1), Trent, Temi, 2013, pp. 198–225.

¹³ C. L. Frommel, ‘Giulio II e il coro di Santa Maria del Popolo’, *Bollettino D’arte*, 112, 2000, pp. 14–15, 23.

¹⁴ N. Riegel, ‘Capella Ascanii—Coemiterium Julium; zur Auftraggeberschaft des Chores von Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome’, *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 30, 1995, pp. 193–219; Frommel, as at note 12, pp. 23–4. P. Schönfeld, *Andrea Sansovino und seine Schule*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1881, p. 14, states that Sansovino had moved to Rome in 1504.

¹⁵ Frommel, as at note 12, pp. 14–15.

¹⁶ E. Bentivoglio and S. Valtieri, *Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma*, Rome, Bardi, 1976, p. 96; Frommel, as at note 12, p. 18.

¹⁷ A. Dunlop, 'Pinturicchio and the Pilgrims: devotion and the past at Santa Maria del Popolo', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 71, 2003, pp. 265–9; L. Passaglia Bauman, 'Piety and public consumption: Domenico, Girolamo and Julius II della Rovere at Santa Maria del Popolo', *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, in I. Verstegen (ed.), Kirkville, Truman State University Press, 2007, pp. 39–62.

¹⁸ C. M. Richardson, "'Ruined, untended and derelict": fifteenth-century papal tombs in St Peter's', in J. Burke and K. M. Bury (eds.), *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, pp. 191–207.

¹⁹ Other cardinals were buried in St Peter's in the next decade but they were commemorated with more modest floor-slab tombs; for example Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini and Jean Bilhères de Lagrègues (who commissioned Michelangelo's *Pietà* as a memorial but whose tomb was a floor slab).

²⁰ The della Porta family had endowed the oratory and could therefore claim *iuspatronatus*: F. M. Torrigio, *Le sacre grotte Vaticane*, Rome, Mascardi, 1639, p. 426; J. Garms, A. Sommerlechner, and W. Telesko, *Die Mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom und Latium vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, II: *Die Monumentalgräber*, Rome and Vienna, Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994, pp. 163–4. The ancient chapel of St Thomas was deconsecrated on 15 Sept 1606 (Grimaldi, as at note 8, 220, 335–36) and the tombs with it.

²¹ Richardson, as at note 5, pp. 395–6, 402.

²² T. Alfano, *Tiberii Alpharano de Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura (1582)*, Studi e Testi 26, Rome, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1914, pp. 83–4, 190–1.

²³ The Visconti male line died out in 1447, whereafter the Sforza took over the duchy of Milan.

²⁴ A. Chacon, *Vitæ, et res gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium*, Rome, Philippi & Ant. De Rubeis, 1677, vol. 1, col. 848.

²⁵ Chacon, *ibid.*, vol. 3, col. 126; J. Burchard, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum: ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. E. Celani, Città di Castello, S. Lapi, 1910–1942, vol. 1, pp. 252 (9 March 1489), p. 259 (installation 23 March), pp. 394–5 (died 4 February 1493).

²⁶ 'Essai de liste générale des cardinaux. VII. Les cardinaux de la fin du XVe siècle', *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique 1934*, Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1934, p. 147.

²⁷ S. Infessura, *Diario della Città di Roma di Stefano scribasenato*, O. Tommasini (ed.), Rome, Forzani, 1890, p. 265.

²⁸ L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, London, Keegan Paul, 1923, vol. 5, pp. 377–8, 380, 381.

²⁹ Chacon, as at note 24, vol. 2, col. 1300–1301.

³⁰ A. A. Strnad, 'Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Politik und Mäzenatentum im Quattrocento', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 8/9, 1964–6, pp. 364–6. Both Carafa and Sforza had long-standing links with Bramante: Bramante designed the cloister at Santa Maria della Pace for Carafa c.1503–4; the architect was connected with the design for the new cathedral of Pavia, commissioned by Sforza around 1490.

³¹ D. S. Chambers, 'What made a Renaissance cardinal respectable? The case of Cardinal Costa of Portugal', *Renaissance Studies*, 12, 1998, pp. 96–7.

³² Burchard, as at note 25, vol. 1, pp. 395–6.

³³ Ibid., pp. 403–4.

³⁴ Richardson, as at note 5, pp. 434–5

³⁵ D. Frapiccini, *L'età aurea di Giulio II. Arti, cantieri e maestranze prima di Raffaello*, Rome, Gangemi Editore, 2013, p. 95. Manzi's obsequies took place 1 March 1505. The date of the monument is not clear, though Frapiccini suggests that Sansovino contributed only parts, including the effigy, to a relatively conventional late-fifteenth century type of monument. To this I would add the relief figures of the Virgin and Child. Frommel, as at note 12, pp. 393–4.

³⁶ For example, in the case of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan, who died in 1465, a monument was commissioned in November 1467 for San Lorenzo in Damaso from the sculptor, Paolo Romano. It is unclear if anything was made as the church was subsequently replaced by Raffaele Riario's Cancelleria. The extant Trevisan monument in San Lorenzo in Damaso was not in fact commissioned until 1505, the fortieth anniversary of Trevisan's death. E. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XVe et le XVIe siècle*, Paris, E. Thorin, 1878–82, vol. 2, pp. 82; P. Paschini, *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo († 1465)*, Rome, Facultas theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1939, pp. 211–12; F. Caglioti, 'Sui primi tempi romani d'Andrea Bregno: un progetto per il Cardinale Camerlengo Alvise Trevisan e un San Michele Arcangelo per il Cardinal Juan de Carvajal', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 41, 1997, pp. 213–53.

³⁷ A. Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2005, p. 410; M. Lisner, 'Andrea Sansovino und die Sakramentskapelle der Corbinelli mit Notizien zum alten Chor von Santo Spirito in Florenz', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 50, 1987, pp. 207–74.

³⁸ Vasari, as at note 4, pp. 513–14.

³⁹ J. Höfler, 'New light on Andrea Sansovino's journey to Portugal', *The Burlington Magazine*, 134/1069, April 1992, pp. 234–8; K. J. P. Lowe (ed.), *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 11, 13, 86; D. Heim, 'Spurensuche in Spanien: Andrea Sansovino und das Rätsel seiner Werke in Toledo', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69 (2006), pp. 489–50; R. Moreira 'Andrea Sansovino au Portugal (1492–1501)', *Revue de l'art*, 133, 2001, p. 35.

⁴⁰ A. Butterfield, 'A "Virgin and Child" attributed to Andrea Sansovino', *The Burlington Magazine*, 152/1292, November 2010, pp. 723–26.

⁴¹ For the Volterra font see G. Haydn Huntley, *Andrea Sansovino: Sculptor and Architect of the Italian Renaissance*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 48–9; for the Genoa *Virgin and Child* see N. Baldini and R. Giulietti (eds), *Andrea Sansovino: i documenti*, Florence and Monte San Savino, Maschietto & Musolino, 1999, p. 63, doc.48; the Florence Baptistry group was not completed: L. A. Waldman, 'The contract for Andrea Sansovino's *Baptism of Christ* for the Florentine Baptistry', *Sculpture Journal* 16, 2007, pp. 90–4.

⁴² Moreira, as at note 39, p. 37; M. Kühlenenthal, 'Andrea Bregno in Rom', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 32, 2002, pp. 179–272.

⁴³ Moreira, as at note 39, p. 37. The sculptor commissioned to produce the Mendoza tomb was 'Andrés Florentino'; R. Díez del Corral, 'Muerte y humanismo: la tumba del Cardenal

don Pedro González de Mendoza', *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, 64, 1987, pp. 216-7.

⁴⁴ Ascanio Maria Sforza died 28th May 1505. Because he died intestate, Julius II appointed executors and provided for his commemoration. See Burchard, as at note 24, vol. 2, pp. 484-5. Sansovino was probably already in Carrara sourcing marble for the monument in October 1505: for the document giving Sansovino and his materials safe passage to Rome, dated 28 December 1505, Baldini and Giulietti, as at note 41, pp. 72-3.

⁴⁵ Baldini and Giulietti, as at note 41, *passim*..

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 254. Accordingly, the Loreto contract allows for a period of absence of up to four months per year: Huntley, as at note 41, p. 70; Weil-Garris, as at note 9, pp. 9-13.

⁴⁷ M. O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2005, *passim*.

⁴⁸ J. Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources 1483-1602*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 186-8; E. Mauceri, 'Andrea Sansovino e i suoi scolari in Roma', *L'arte*, 3, 1900, p. 241; Huntley, as at note 41, p. 58. Weil-Garris, as at note 9, p. 373 n. 2, also notes this connection with St Peter's, and in particular its significance for the relationship between Sansovino and Bramante.

⁴⁹ Johann Burchard, papal master of ceremonies, arrived in Rome in 1481 from Alsace, joined the confraternity of Santa Maria dell'Anima, the German national Church, and became its provost. It was during his tenure that the decision was taken to rebuild the church for the 1500 jubilee and Andrea Sansovino was retained as its architect, providing another link between the papal curia and the artist/architect: T. Daniels, 'Der päpstliche Zeremonienmeister Johannes Burckard, Jakob Wimpfeling und das Pasquill im deutschen Humanismus', in *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 69/1, 2013, pp. 127-140.

⁵⁰ Niggel, as at note 7, docs 2 and 3.

⁵¹ Grimaldi, as at note 8, p. 336: 'Imaginem Deiparae marmoream filium gestantem Io. Baptista Simoncellus, sancti domini nostri a cubiculo et a veste primus, ad oppidum nativum Buccae in Hernicis transferendam atque in suo sacello reponendam curavit, quod sumptuose ibi construxit atque dotavit ob devotionem et memoriam Vaticanae basilicae veteris'. A. Muñoz, 'Reliquie artistiche della vecchia basilica Vaticana a Boville Ernica', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 5, 1911, pp. 173-4; A. Muñoz, 'Ancora delle opere d'arte di Boville Ernica provenienti da S. Pietro in Vaticano', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 6, 1912, pp. 242-55. Alfarano, as at note 22, pp. 83-4.

⁵² A porphyry cross inserted above the entrance to the Simoncelli chapel in S. Pietro Ispano, is related by Patrizia Tosini to the direct influence of Cesare Baronio: 'Il caso "baroniano" della cappella Simoncelli a Boville Ernica (con alcune note sulla committenza Filonardi)', in *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Frosinone, Sora, 16-18 maggio 2007, Patrizia Tosini (ed.), Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2009, p. 310. On the Simoncelli's relationship with San Pietro Ispano, patron saint of Baùco, see *idem*, p. 293. Above the altarpiece created from the Virgin and Child relief for the chapel, is a mosaic angel associated with Giotto: A. Tomei, 'I due Angeli dell Navicella di Giotto', *Fragmenta Picta: affreschi e mosaic staccato del Medioevo romano* (exh. cat.), M. Andaloro et al. (eds), Rome, Argos, 1989, pp. 153-61. The African marble globes relate to a drawing in Grimaldi of the chapel of Ss Simeone e Guida, while the figures of St Peter and St Paul, came

from the altar of the auditor of the Rota, Guglielmo de Perreriis (Perrier) of 1491 and refer to the *lapides et fundamenta* of the Church of Rome: Tosini, *ibid*, pp. 295 and 310.

⁵³ This coincided with the removal of other monuments from the same area of the basilica, including the monuments of Pius II and Pius III to Sant'Andrea della Valle: Alfarano, as at note 21, p. 85; Richardson, as at note 5, pp. 341–2.

⁵⁴ Muñoz (as at n. 51) holds that the figure of Joseph was a later addition. Infact the Boville Ernica chapel was dedicated to both Joseph and to St Mary of the Cross.

⁵⁵ F. Federici and J. Garms (eds), *Tombs of Illustrious Romans at Rome. L'album di disegni RCIN 970334 della Royal Library di Windsor*, Rome, *Bollettino d'Arte*, special volume, 2010, pp. 209–10.

⁵⁶ Sansovino almost certainly knew Michelangelo personally, encountering him, for example, in meetings in the workshop of Baccio d'Agnolo: Vasari, as at note 4, vol. 5, p. 350.

⁵⁷ Huntley, as at note 41, pp. 49–52; Butterfield, as at note 39, p. 723.

⁵⁸ Mauceri, as at note 48, p. 242, supports the early date. Huntley, as at note 40, pp. 79–80, relates the sculpture to the much later development of the site.

⁵⁹ J. S. Ackerman, *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press, p. 380 n. 13: tenants included Antonio da Sangallo in 1512 and, slightly later, Baldassare Peruzzi.

⁶⁰ V. Bonito, 'The Saint Anne Altar in Sant'Agostino in Rome: a new discovery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 122/933, December 1980, pp. 805–12; V. Bonito, 'The Saint Anne Altar in Sant'Agostino: restoration and interpretation', *The Burlington Magazine*, 124/950, May 1982, pp. 268–76.

⁶¹ For further discussion of this motif, and of the baptistery in old St Peter's, see Richardson, as at note 5, p. 405.